

THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Sixth Year of Issue

February, 1947

The Prices of Peace



Canada's Labor Charter



New Canadian Poetry



Labor and The Empire



The Unesco Program



London Revisited (1946)

DOROTHY LIVESAY

"The Puritan Conquest of England"

J. S. COWAN

FILMS ★ RECORDS ★ BOOKS

Vol. XXVI, No. 313

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O CANADA

Plans are being made to create a North Bay and District Speleology Society. This is an organization which explores in its area for caverns and reports their existence to the military authorities. After caves and caverns are located, they are to be measured for floor space and other essential requirements if needed in a future war.

(North Bay Nugget)

Today . . . a birth that brought the appearance of a wonderful new star and the visit of three kings would make banner headlines throughout the nation. Cameramen would flash the scene on every newsreel-theatre screen. Radio commentators would give on-the-spot interviews with mother, father and innkeeper. Sometimes I wonder what would happen were Christ to revisit the world today, perhaps send his son to us under the same conditions.

(Drew Pearson in the Vancouver Sun)

Declaring that "some mothers who leave their youngsters in child nurseries and go to work should better stay at home and mind their children," Ald. William Clifton of Ward 6 told Civic Welfare Committee recently that "Toronto is in danger of getting into the babysitting business. I have no fault to find when the father is dead, is not living with the mother or is unable to work," said Ald. Clifton. "What I do object to is the parents driving to the nursery in their motor cars, leaving the child to be cared for at the civic nursery."

(Globe and Mail)

Alderman Lamport gives notice that he will on tomorrow move that owing to the dangerous housing condition in this city, the city has entered directly into the housing business. This is definitely unbusinesslike as the city is not incorporated as an owner for public enterprises to be run by politics, and for this reason Toronto's activity as an owner of houses and accommodation is abominable and disgracefully mishandled owing to the political tinge, because of no fault of any municipal official in his task or duty, but because we assume the position, in the case of overdue rents, as bailiff with authority, and as an owner, on the other hand. Whereas we cannot be both, it is proposed that Toronto appoint a commission to set up and operate any properties that the city may have for rent, and in this way will stand strictly on their own feet and will not be brought into politics weekly as they have been disgracefully of recent date.

(The Minutes of the Toronto City Council, April 15, 1946)

I would like to report here my conviction that Gladstone Murray, in his active promoting of the idea of Responsible Enterprise, is not a propagandist but a philosopher with a mission. The Collectivists have their formulas which give an air of scholasticism to their doctrines and excite a willingness to believe among those who are greatly impressed by a slogan or a formula. . . . But Mr. Murray has a better philosophical formula which is not a slogan but which stems from the very considerable and fruitful study he has been giving to the enterprise-democratic system.

(Wellington Jeffers in The Globe and Mail)

The Honourable Mr. Patenaude advocated retrenchment in public budgets, reductions in taxation, lowering of the cost of living and increasing the return on savings to contribute to the birth of new initiative and to stimulate the desire to save. Stating that such a policy would tend to develop self-reliance, he warned that the present paternalistic trend in government catering to individual needs was opening the way to the abuses of socialism.

(Advertisement of the Provincial Bank of Canada, Globe and Mail)

But not all the hours of discussion or advice of the judge could overcome the hurdle on the other questions, and the final, inconclusive vote rested at 8-4 on the question whether or not Miss Rexford knew that Cormack was married when he proposed to her. At one point, when the jurors returned to say that they could not reach agreement on the subsidiary but vital questions, there was a brief but sharp clash between the counsel and the judge. Mr. Justice Schroeder suggested that the jurors were trying to be too analytical and asked them to go back and reconsider their disagreement.

(Globe and Mail)

J. S. Duncan, president of Massey-Harris Ltd. . . . referring to Spain . . . declared, "I came to the conclusion that the alternative to Franco is not a liberal democracy but communism. I found that in some respects conditions in Spain were more normal than elsewhere," he said. "Normal, at least, for people who have money. But the poverty of the masses is unbelievable and the food distribution system is terrible. Franco has been greatly strengthened in his position by the opposition of Great Britain and Russia. There is law and order in Spain today, which is very different from what it was a few years ago."

(Toronto Star)

This month's prize of a six months' subscription goes to G. H. Gordon, Sturgeon Falls, Ont. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication.

THE CANADIAN FORUM

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International Suspense

The international situation remains confused. At the highest level there is at least a hangover of goodwill and hope following the positive if limited results achieved in New York in December. Everybody assures everyone there is a determination to co-operate. These assurances, if genuine, are important. And the clear intention in the U.N. Assembly on the part of the smaller powers not to be ignored still has to be remembered, for that is the background of the Canadian claim for a share in the discussions on Germany.

Meanwhile, a new crop of irritations and frictions are emerging: Russian claims for a military base on Spitzbergen are resented by Britain and are likely to put the U.S.A. on the spot. The British complaint against the mining of Corfu Straits by Albania is before the Security Council (as a dispute, be it noted, not subject to veto). Plans for international control of atomic energy are still in the fluid state. The violence at the Polish elections, as well as the results, have a totalitarian flavor that will not sweeten the diplomatic atmosphere. Italy is protesting the peace terms imposed on her. South Africa violently resents the proposal that South-West Africa be put under international trusteeship; Smuts is vehement and his opposition even talks of leaving the U.N.

All these problems make it vitally important that the better relations between foreign secretaries and prime ministers, or their equivalent, especially those of the three great powers, should continue and improve, for at this stage violent quarrels at the highest levels would be far more dangerous than before, and aggravate every cause of friction into danger to U.N. itself. But the better harmony among the Big Three must not be maintained in order to bully the smaller nations whose rightful share in making decisions must grow, not diminish.

Hunger in Europe and Asia

The world food crisis is not over. Many people in Europe are still living on a diet of 1500 calories or less, and the situation will deteriorate sharply in the spring when the domestic food supplies of several countries will become exhausted. Conditions in Germany, Austria, and Rumania are the worst; in Germany the national average is now about 2000 calories (compared with some 3300 in Canada), and a substantial number of people without access to the black market are subsisting on 1600 calories.

In the Orient the situation is even more desperate. Over wide areas of China famine conditions have prevailed for many months. Surveys last summer indicated that sixteen million people are located in famine-stricken areas; in some districts the average calorie intake was below 500: the people were eating grass and weeds.

In North America food production is higher this year than last, but because of transportation difficulties, price increases, decontrol, and the termination of UNRRA, total food exports will be no higher, and possibly lower, than last year. A recent report from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations states flatly: "The prospective situation in deficit countries in the coming months is such as to warrant an immediate tightening of controls and food economy measures in all countries and a reconsideration by exporting countries of the quantities they feel able to make available for shipment."

We in Canada, who are among the best-fed people in the world, should urge our government to take such steps immediately. In addition, we should consider what we can do individually to aid those who are hungry. Canadian organizations whose relief efforts deserve support include the Friends' Service Committee, 113 Maitland Street, Toronto; The Save the Children Committee, 45 Avenue Road, Toronto, and the Unitarian Service Committee, 668 Cooper Street, Ottawa.

Socialists should also know of the work of the International Solidarity Committee (303 4th Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.), which was organized two years ago to facilitate the sending of food and other assistance from socialists and progressives on this continent to socialist families in Europe. It is endorsed by the socialist parties of France, Spain, Austria, Germany, and Norway. By securing names from these socialist parties and distributing the names to interested persons in America, the Committee has made it possible for thousands of needy socialists to receive regular aid. Those being helped include families whose fathers were killed in the Underground, Spanish Loyalists who have no government to protect them, and German anti-fascists.

The International Solidarity Committee recommends that food packages be sent through CARE—the Co-operative for American Remittances to Europe, which was set up by twenty-two relief agencies to co-ordinate their efforts. CARE (50 Broad Street, New York) bought up surplus army food stocks, and will see that a forty-pound package is delivered to anyone in Europe for \$10.00 (which includes shipping charges).

The Privy Council

Whether or not the final court of appeal in litigation between individual clients should be the Privy Council or the Supreme Court of Canada and the relative legal competence of the two courts is a matter that can safely be left to the lawyers. The C.N.R., C.P.R., the insurance companies and other large corporations are likely to be the only private litigants that can as a general rule afford the luxury of appealing to either court.

The important aspect to be considered in the abolition of Privy Council appeals now open to the Canadian Parliament, is the function of a final Court of Appeal in constitutional cases. In a federal system with a written constitution the ultimate Court of Appeal fulfills an important function of government. The written constitution is often silent and ambiguous and new aspects of government arise not within the contemplation of the framers of the original document. In this situation by a process of "interpretation" the Court may exercise a decisive influence on developments.

Is it better to have a court of judges sitting 2,000 miles away, few of whom if any have ever set foot in Canada, or is a court of Canadian judges familiar with Canadian conditions, likely to do a better job? The first sort of Court may, as is sometimes claimed, be more impartial, but will it be wiser?

There is nothing in the history of the Judicial Committees dealing with the B. N. A. Act to lead to the view that it is a sound thing to commit this important function of government to citizens of another country, however distinguished. Starting with the Prohibition Case of 1896 and fully through

Viscount Haldane's regime down to the 1935 Cases in which the Bennett "New Deal" legislation was held to be beyond the powers of the Parliament of Canada, the Privy Council has successfully warped the original intentions of the framers of the British North America Act, which was to give the Parliament of Canada power to deal with questions of a clearly national scope.

So the abolition of appeals to the Privy Council will not only be a further gesture of Canada's status within the Commonwealth embodied in the Statute of Westminster but may have practical effects in the future development of Canada as a nation. Only Conservatives with a hangover of the colonial inferiority complex or provincial isolationists who want to keep Canada divided will weep when Bill 9 becomes law, as it should as soon as possible.

Secretary of State

The appointment of General George C. Marshall as U.S. Secretary of State emphasizes the growing and potentially dangerous increase in power and influence of the military bureaucracies on American foreign policy. In Japan, Austria, and Germany, generals are at the head of the occupation authorities. The Assistant Secretary of State in charge of dealing with the occupied territories is another army officer, Major General John H. Hilldring. In Moscow, General Walter B. Smith presents the State Department's views to Molotov, while Brussels sees the United States symbolized by Vice-Admiral Alan G. Kirk.

It is difficult not to regret and fear this trend when we remember what the influence of the military on civil governments meant in countries such as Germany and Japan. War is the business for which the generals and admirals are trained. The hopes of the common man for permanent peace will not be buoyed up by the sight of so much brass and gold braid at the diplomatic conferences.

Foreign affairs "experts" are already analyzing the implications of Marshall's appointment for future American policy. Their chief source of information has been Marshall's recent report on the Civil War in China from which both supporters and opponents of past U.S. diplomacy take comfort. Henry Wallace's *New Republic* noted Marshall's "blasts against Kuomintang reactionaries," and hoped for a shift away from the Byrnes "Be firm with Russia policy." Henry Luce's *Time* stressed with apparent approval the fact that General Marshall placed most of the blame for the Chinese Civil War on "the dyed-in-the-wool Communists."

Our own opinions can also best be expressed by quoting from Marshall's report. "I must here also deplore the influence of the military. Their dominance accentuates the weakness of the civil government." We can hope that General Marshall is an exception.

Butter

"Many people nowadays like marmalade instead." Canadian dairy farmers fear that, rationing over, it will take years to bring domestic consumption of butter up to the pre-war level. For this reason they are making no protest against the importation of New Zealand butter — on which a government skidded out of office in 1930 — to maintain the six-ounce ration. From the farm point of view New Zealand butter may keep down both the use of marmalade and the demand for oleo-margarine. It is really United Kingdom butter, for Canada is borrowing or buying this butter — and in either case begging it — from Britain. The

plea is that reduction of the Canadian butter ration might break down the food rationing program and reduce food exports to Britain.

The annual meeting of the Dairy Farmers of Canada blamed shortages of butter and cheese on the dominion government's refusal to permit prices that would have maintained production. Cheese producers complained bitterly that Canadians were being weaned away from their taste for Canadian cheddar cheese. Farmers think the government's policy is in contrast with its treatment of industry. The government permitted an increase in the price of Canadian automobiles when it might have reduced tariffs to permit entry of United States automobiles. At the moment the privilege asked by industry and agriculture is chiefly the raising of price ceilings. If later on it is chiefly a question of tariff protection the Canadian producer of cream for butter will be able to point out that the barn-sheltered Canadian cow has a higher standard of living than the New Zealand cow but that his own standard of living is low.

The cream producer is the "poor relation" of the dairy family. Typically, he produces cream by the labor of himself, his wife and his children, and he feeds the skim milk to hogs. A little better rewarded is the producer of milk for cheese, who feeds the whey to hogs, but he too has reduced production. Canada was unable to meet her cheese commitments to Britain last year. Much higher returns go to whole milk producers, who in Ontario have asked a royal commission to approve of a present price which gives them, they say, 45 cents an hour for their labor but no return on investment. They are also concerned about the returns to their poor relations, the producers of cream and cheese and concentrated milk, lest this milk be forced into the fluid milk market. For this reason they are just about ready to discuss with their fellow dairymen the "pooling" of milk for all purposes as practised in Britain.

Duplessis versus Jehovah

Echoes of the Roncarelli case, commented on in our last issue by Prof. F. R. Scott, are still reverberating in Montreal. To the list of newspapers previously mentioned which were critical of Mr. Duplessis' action in cancelling Mr. Roncarelli's license must be added the name of *Le Canada*, and of such redoubtable defenders of Quebec's nationalism as *Le Devoir* and *Notre Temps*. The student organ of the University of Montreal, *Le Quartier Latin*, has dissociated itself completely from the behavior of the small handful of students who attempted to disrupt the public meeting of protest on December 12. Even Recorder Mercier of Quebec, who was reported as having regretted he could not impose life sentences on the Witnesses, has denied he ever used such language. On the other hand some religious bodies and even municipal councils have urged the Premier not to relax his efforts to suppress the activities of the Witnesses. Many people feel that Mr. Duplessis has made a bad mistake in his treatment of Mr. Roncarelli, but that he has the majority of the people behind him in his attacks on the sect itself. Meanwhile Mr. Roncarelli has no license, his business has declined to a point where he is forced to discharge some of his employees, and he has suffered very serious damages. For this situation the only remedy appears to be legal action, and the Quebec Liquor Commission and Ministers of the Crown are so hedged about with legal protections that this traditional way of redressing wrongs, while not perhaps barred, is by no means clear and easy. Our highest courts may soon be called upon to vindicate certain principles of constitutional law and national justice.

To Our Readers

We regret to announce that Eleanor Godfrey has found it necessary to resign as Managing Editor of the Forum, owing to pressure of other work. She has held that position continuously since 1939, always on a voluntary basis, and has made a great contribution to the success of our magazine during those eight difficult years. We are sure that our readers will join us in our expression of gratitude for the onerous work she did, in our good wishes to her, and in our hope that we may continue to have the benefit of her contributions and advice.

George M. A. Grube has consented to act as Editor, at least for a while, until some more permanent arrangement can be made. Professor Grube needs no introduction to our readers; he has been a regular contributor for many years and was managing editor in 1938 and 1939. Northrop Frye remains as literary editor, a position which he has in fact held for some years. As in the past, the Forum will also rely on a board of associate editors who freely contribute their time, effort and experience. We hope to present this reconstituted board to our readers in the near future.

Thumbprints

Down the brimstone path of fascism which the Social Credit movement is travelling, the Alberta government seems to be taking the lead. It has turned down as unsuitable for showing in its schools a British Information Office film: "Man, One Family," which is intended to show that the Nazi race theories are nonsense scientifically. An American film "Don't Be A Sucker" suffered the same fate. It too was an attack on Hitlerism propaganda and race hatreds. Also a film from the National Film Board showing the political parties at work. The censoring of those films links up directly with the increasingly undemocratic nature of the Social Credit party and its use of anti-semitism exposed by Doris French in our last issue.

* * * *

The calling out of troops by the British government to guarantee essential food deliveries during the truckers' strike in London draws attention to the fact that no government can neglect its responsibility to preserve essential consumer supplies during a labor dispute. It should be noted, however, that negotiations went on between the men and the employers, and the union leaders who advised against the strike in the first place, so that, unofficial as it was, the dispute was brought to an end, at least temporarily, as speedily as possible. There lies an essential difference.

* * * *

The new offer of the Dominion to the provinces has not been published as we write; but it is obviously much more favorable. Mr. Drew's press supporters in Toronto are now accusing the Dominion of extravagance and are obviously uncomfortable. They know very well that the business fraternity is opposed to double taxation. Hence Mr. Drew's repeated efforts to have a general Dominion-Provincial conference, which he would again be in a position to wreck. Unless he can do something spectacular, double taxation is his fate, or eating his words. For he can also, as things stand, be made the goat by the Dominion government for their failure to implement their more positive proposals, which they maintain require unanimous agreements with all the provinces.

* * * *

We do not often agree with the federal minister of agriculture, but we note with approval his statement reported from

Vancouver that "Development from here to Winnipeg has to come — and if the industrialists will not do it, the people will take over and see that it is done"; though perhaps we think that the people have already waited long enough. He said also: "There would be no use operating industry if they continued to do it as they had done in the past," and that "we need sensible people in industry." Mr. Gardiner must be thinking of leaving the Liberal party. The only alternative we can see for him, however, is to retire from politics.

Twenty-Six Years Ago

TWENTY-SIX YEARS AGO: Vol. 1, No. 5, February, 1921.

For many years the City of Toronto has been called conservative. If one may judge by the recent outburst of its perpetual mayor it is charity to apply the name conservative; Toronto is still in the dark ages. Mr. Church has definitely set his face against the provision of schools and teachers for children between the ages of 14 and 16.

No Cartoon

We regret to appear this month without a cartoon, due to the fact that our cartoonist is ill.

The Prices of Peace

► THE PRICE ceiling is vanishing. Where complete removal is not announced, increases are granted. Increases are inevitable, because the ceiling has been removed on enough products to change the whole price structure. When a large batch of removals was announced recently, it was comfortingly pointed out that ceilings still remained on basic foods. A few days later, increases were granted in restaurant prices on the ground that the food index had risen by sixteen per cent. The stabilization program still exists in form, but for all practical purposes it is defunct. The WPTB seems to yield to every pressure, to retain controls only as long as nobody objects.

And the pressures are increasing. The ancient battle over freight-rates has been revived. The CPR wants a 30% increase to meet higher costs. A government subsidy to shippers is suggested, but it is plainly not considered essential to the plan. There are signs of a new campaign to raise tariffs, particularly on imports from the United Kingdom. Since we must continue to import from Britain if we are to keep our markets there, the effect of such tariffs on our price structure would necessarily be unfavorable.

An honest obituary on price control will soon be in order. We shall not attempt it here, but its broad outlines can be suggested. Price control helped us to win the war. It was capably administered to that end. It contributed incidentally to a marked improvement in the economic structure of our society. This social effect was never recognized, even after the end of the war, as a main objective. As in every other field, the improvement of the lives of Canadians has seemed insufficient justification for continuing policies associated in the Ottawa mind with the killing of foreigners. An overriding national purpose is not considered possible when we are not at war.

At the moment, unemployment is very slight. But the lid is going off prices before the backlog of consumer demand has been met. Inflation and unemployment are the logical corollaries. Over against this, set the positive social uses to which a substantial policy can be put — the adjustment of

inequalities, and above all, the maintenance of high production.

We are not back to "normal." Even those who think that we will reach that hypothetical state will admit that we have not done so yet. Now, there are two main schools of thought regarding the quickest method of effecting the transition from the wartime economy. One, represented by the editorial writers of *The Globe and Mail* and *The Financial Post*, holds that the laws of nature, left to themselves without bureaucratic interference, will do the job with the efficiency of Paley's Watch. The other considers price control an absolute necessity until full peacetime production is established. To present this view we can do no better than to quote the words of an expert group of economists, written in early 1945:

"The need for price control and other anti-inflationary measures will not disappear with the end of the European war. The magnitude of the expenditures required for the prosecution of the Japanese war and the continued claims on manpower will be such as to necessitate the continuance of the stabilization program, if both war and reconstruction programs are not to be jeopardized. Moreover, the accumulation of savings and the steady increase in deferred needs for some consumer goods and for a wide variety of durable goods (such as housing, household appliances, automobiles, highways, farm machinery and buildings, and peacetime industrial plant) will continue to set the background for price inflation until production of a civilian character can be expanded very materially. The store of buying power which individuals and corporations have accumulated during the war can be of great assistance in sustaining production and employment during the transition from war to peace. On the other hand, it could also be dissipated in a needless inflation, which would defeat orderly reconversion, if such buying power were permitted to run wild at a time when civilian production was still restricted and shortages and bottlenecks persisted.

"The most severe inflationary pressure came immediately after the war of 1914-18 and not during it. The rise in prices after the last war was extremely sharp and this unfortunate inflation undoubtedly greatly accentuated the violent slump in prices which followed. The government is determined to safeguard the stabilization program until its full benefits can be reaped in a smoother, more rapid transition to a prosperous peacetime economy. The stabilization program is a vital factor in maintaining the highest feasible level of employment during the transition, both in the negative sense that it can prevent inflation with its inevitable deflationary consequences, and in the positive sense that prices must be kept at reasonable levels if a high volume of post-war production is to be achieved. High post-war employment can be based only on high production and an absolute essential in achieving this objective is to keep prices in hand during the transition. Canada's dependence on exports gives special emphasis to this need, both because of the obvious necessity of competing in external markets and because of the dependence of large sections of the domestic market on export income."

Our readers may be interested in the source of that quotation. The title-page of the booklet from which it comes reads as follows: "Employment and Income with Special Reference to the Initial Period of Reconstruction: Presented to Parliament by The Minister of Reconstruction, April 1945."

That seems to sum it up quite nicely. Is "the transition" over, Mr. Howe? Or don't you think that "high post-war employment" is desirable after all?

I. M. OWEN.

Labor's Post-War Charter

Edward B. Jolliffe

► THE MOUNTAINOUS repository of wisdom just to the west of Parliament Hill has labored and brought forth a draft bill. Whatever may be the form in which it reaches the statute-book, the general public as well as organized labor will probably hear much of "The Industrial Relations and Disputes Investigation Act, 1947," or of steps taken under its procedures.

Designed to consolidate and replace the Industrial Disputes Inquiry Act of 1907 and the Wartime Labor Relations Regulations of 1944 (better known as P.C. 1003), the new bill will probably be introduced in Parliament at an early date. If the National Emergency Transitional Powers Act expires on March 31, P.C. 1003 will cease to have any force thereafter as federal legislation; some important industries would be subject to no labor code other than the antiquated and inadequate I.D.I. Act, 1907, and others to a patchwork of provincial codes or to no code at all.

Canada has already experienced labor legislation of six constitutional varieties. There was, first, the Dominion's attempt to legislate with respect to labor relations. Privy Council decisions so limited the scope of the federal authority that the I.D.I. Act applied only to inter-provincial railways and a few other industries deemed to be of national interest within the meaning of the British North America Act.

Secondly, the provinces took a few halting steps before the war: notably, Nova Scotia, with a Trade Union Act of its own, which required union recognition and the granting of check-off privileges in certain circumstances. Several provinces also adopted the federal I.D.I. Act, making it apply to labor relations within their own jurisdiction.

A third instalment of legislation was made possible only by the war emergency. Under the War Measures Act, Ottawa passed a series of Orders-in-Council, to govern the conflicting interests of millions of Canadian workers and thousands of employers, whose relations would ordinarily have been within the exclusive jurisdiction of the provincial legislatures. They applied to undertakings deemed essential to the effective prosecution of the war. From 1939 to 1944 the Orders-in-Council were hesitant, ambiguous and unenforceable, the government having apparently learned nothing from the experience of the United States and the Wagner Act. However, by the winter of 1943-44, at a crucial point in the war, labor relations had reached a state of such confusion and tension, with disputes constantly occurring on the elementary issue of union recognition in plants clearly vital to the war effort, that further procrastination could not be endured. P.C. 1003 provided machinery for certification of representatives having the majority support of employees, required employers to bargain collectively with certified representatives, and half-heartedly acknowledged the existence of unfair labor practices. P.C. 1003 was not a national labor code in the true sense, but a wartime expedient to minimize costly industrial clashes.

Some of the provinces had already been forced by the rising power of the labor movement and its political champions to pass legislation of their own. British Columbia had its Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1936, and Alberta an act by the same name passed in 1942. Nova Scotia's Trade Union Act of 1937 was advanced legislation for that day. Quebec had its Trade Disputes Act and Collective Agreements Act, both passed in 1941. The Ontario Legislature's hasty pre-election gesture of 1943, the Collective Bargaining Act, which established a Labor Court with

powers of certification, was a unique and short-lived experiment, but filled the gap until P.C. 1003 became law. For a time these provincial measures existed side by side with federal Orders-in-Council, like P.C. 4020 of 1941, both applying to war industries in a war emergency. The provincial measures, and particularly that of Ontario, therefore took on special characteristics, and must be regarded as a fourth category of legislation, in the period between 1939 and 1943, distinct in effect from pre-war provincial enactments.

This by no means exhausts the list. With the passing of P.C. 1003 a belated attempt was made to bring order out of chaos. The provinces were encouraged to adopt it, so that the same code would be applicable throughout the whole country to both war industries and non-war industries. Most provinces did so by agreement with Ottawa early in 1944, and Ontario, with a Conservative government, actually placed P.C. 1003 on its own statute book, there to remain until repealed.

However, P.C. 1003 does not apply to non-war industries in the important industrial province of Quebec, nor in Alberta. The CCF Government of Saskatchewan, on taking office in July, 1944, promptly terminated their predecessors' agreement with Ottawa, and sponsored a new Trade Union Act applicable to industries still within the provincial jurisdiction. It has more in common with the Wagner Act than with P.C. 1003, and differs radically from the experiments of other provinces, being, for example, the only labor legislation in Canada to make express and positive provision for an advanced form of union security in collective agreements.

Thus a sixth variety of labor code was developed — the provincial code applying only (for the duration of the war and the transitional emergency) to non-war industries within the provincial jurisdiction. The national "code," P.C. 1003, applied to all industries ordinarily within the federal jurisdiction, to all designated war industries for the duration, and also to non-war industries within the provincial jurisdiction where the province so provided.

With the end of emergency Dominion powers, new problems arise. The distinction between war industries and non-war industries disappears. The important constitutional distinction between federal and provincial jurisdiction remains.

The end of one "emergency" sometimes marks the beginning of another. There is ground for believing that this may be the case in the difficult field of labor relations.

Labor leaders have argued for a comprehensive national code, something not less effective than the Wagner Act, preferably as advanced as the Saskatchewan Trade Union Act — in any event, a code which would guarantee workers the right to organize in unions of their own choice, to bargain collectively, to be protected against unfair practices and to attain a degree of union security corresponding to the responsibility unions are constantly being asked to assume. Only a national code, it is said, can be truly effective; anything less will create further discriminatory standards as between different provinces, and there are already too many examples of discrimination.

On its merits, the case for a national code is unanswerable. From the point of view of employers and employees alike, it is absurd that a major industrial power like Canada, dependent upon export markets and struggling to take advantage of the industrial capacity created in the war years by federal initiative, should have nine or ten different sets of standards in labor relations. When the B.N.A. Act was drafted, the characteristic Canadian industry was probably the village mill or the small town furniture shop. Today it would be more relevant to look at Canada Packers or Canadian Industries Limited, with twenty or more plants

scattered across the country, under one management. It would be relevant also to note how many companies, and how many of the union committees with whom they deal, have both national and international affiliations. To place their relations under provincial jurisdiction is rather like asking municipal councils to legislate us out of the housing crisis: there is much they can do to help, but the legislation should be passed elsewhere.

However, no national labor code is possible unless either the B.N.A. Act is amended to give the Dominion exclusive jurisdiction or the provinces agree without exception to delegate their powers or to adopt whatever Act the Dominion has to offer.

The B.N.A. Act has not been amended. The Dominion-Provincial Conference made no progress toward agreement on the delegation of powers or anything else. The only remaining course is for the Dominion to pass a new Act and hope that most of the provinces will adopt it, there being not the slightest possibility that all of them will.

Officials of the Department of Labor produced a draft bill many weeks ago. It was printed, marked "confidential" and sent to provincial governments and organized employers. Not until some time later was it released to the recognized leaders of organized labor at Ottawa. More recently it has received wider circulation.

No doubt the government will receive representations for and against various features of the bill from labor and management. Members of Parliament should also have an opportunity to hear from them. The danger is that this lengthy, complicated, and highly important bill, one of the most important in the post-war scheme of things, may be pushed through without adequate study or debate, on the pretext that it must without fail become law by March 31, when emergency powers are expected to expire. That urgency is a poor excuse for defective legislation, and no excuse at all for the government's failure to introduce a bill at the 1946 session, when it might have been referred to the Industrial Relations Committee and thoroughly considered.

The bill has eighty-eight sections and even more subsections. The Saskatchewan Trade Union Act covered more ground in only twenty-eight sections. The draft bill contains so many qualifications and reservations, express and implied, that it is necessarily lengthy, devious and sometimes obscure. These are characteristics which spring from the traditional unwillingness of the government to define policy clearly. An obscure and evasive policy begets obscure and ambiguous legislation.

If the draft bill reaches the statute-book in its present form, the provinces will have to decide whether to adopt it, or to adopt a similar bill or to reject it. Section 75 authorizes the Minister to make an agreement with a provincial government "on such terms and conditions as may be approved, to provide for the administration within that province of any legislation enacted by the legislature of the said province controlling and regulating the relations between employees and employers." Apparently it is contemplated that a province may have legislation differing from the draft bill and yet enter into co-operative arrangements with the federal authorities. Such arrangements would be difficult to conclude if the two differ widely in principle.

Whether labor will desire provinces to accept the Dominion bill is for the Congresses of Labor to determine, and may depend upon the final form of the bill and upon the comparative value of existing provincial law.

No doubt the draft bill will be represented as a mere continuation of the principles of P.C. 1003. However, scattered throughout its length are many minor changes which demand searching scrutiny. Some are undeniable

improvements; others are retrogressive from labor's point of view, and many of the worst ambiguities in P.C. 1003 have been retained. There is no evidence that the draftsmen have been carried away by the anti-labor hysteria of the new American Congress, but there are some subtle attempts to hobble the well-organized and aggressively-led union, and there is machinery whereby the Minister of Labor could, in his discretion, make any strike technically illegal.

The draft bill makes no provision whatever for union security, although the check-off was recommended by the Industrial Relations Committee of the House of Commons. Members must not complain about labor's lack of respect for their committee, when a specific recommendation is so pointedly ignored by the government.

The bill's silence about union security is significant. It has been at the root of many disputes. Once again, Ottawa side-steps the most troublesome issue. It might be thought the government had never heard of the Ford strike or of Mr. Justice Rand's famous decision.

The bill contemplates enforcement by police court proceedings. Years of experience have proved such methods to be entirely unsatisfactory, so much so that rarely was an attempt made by anybody to enforce P.C. 1003.

Heavy penalties are provided for offences, which are broad enough to cover almost any act or omission by any employee inconsistent with the Act or with a collective agreement. Union officers are made personally liable for wrongs which may easily be done by an agent provocateur.

An unprinted insertion in the draft bill purports to require union officers to pay fines out of trust funds "notwithstanding the terms of the trust." It would be interesting to know just how the lawyers of the Department of Justice hope to reconcile this extraordinary proposal with the provincial jurisdiction over the law of trusts. It would also be interesting to know what imaginary precedent makes them fancy that section 67 of the bill is *intra vires*.

In a more realistic approach, the Saskatchewan Act gives a board, qualified in labor relations, the power to make mandatory orders, and to enforce them.

Similarly, the Saskatchewan Act does not hesitate to make union security mandatory in certain circumstances, does not hesitate to define unfair practices simply and clearly, does not hesitate to require the dissolution of a company-dominated union. None of this can be said of the draft bill.

A curious feature of the bill is that, although it does not attempt to compel the incorporation of unions, it arrives at the same result by the back-door. A union may not sue or be sued. However the draft bill, after providing that the union itself is to be certified as bargaining agent (not certain individuals as "bargaining representatives" as in P.C. 1003) sets up a scheme of corporate liabilities. The union itself may be prosecuted in the criminal courts. Its funds are attachable. The bill seeks to give collective agreements the force of law — a breach of agreement becomes an offence. This is unusual and anomalous law. Ordinarily a breach of contract is no offence and the loser is left to seek his remedy in the civil courts. Hitherto lawyers have regarded collective agreements as unenforceable "gentlemen's agreements." Now the draft bill makes them enforceable by the state, which is much higher recognition than ordinary contracts enjoy.

The long and involved conciliation procedure of the I.D.I. Act and P.C. 1003 is to be retained with even more elaboration. By refusing or neglecting to appoint a Board, as he may, the Minister could make any strike "illegal." The bill vests far more discretion in the Minister than did P.C. 1003. There will continue to be a Labor Relations Board but many

of its powers under P.C. 1003 are transferred to the Minister by the draft bill, an unsound change.

The draft bill does represent an admission that unions are here to stay and that certain machinery must be provided for certification and conciliation. It reveals, however, a definite bias, perhaps an unconscious bias, which will make it more acceptable to the Canadian Manufacturers Association than to labor. Of many examples which could be given, perhaps one will suffice.

Section 57A imposes on a union the onus of proof that a strike has not been authorized by the union concerned — i.e. it will be assumed that an illegal strike was authorized by the union, that the union and its officers are guilty, until the union proves the contrary. This onus of proof, ordinarily resting upon the prosecution, is shifted to the accused only in this instance and only as against a union — never as against an employer or an employers' organization, although there is such a thing as an illegal lockout.

When a British bill relating to unions some years ago ran the gamut of three readings, it was subjected to the closest examination. Almost every section was debated; the bill spent many weeks in committee. It is hoped that Parliament will give Canadian labor's post-war charter equally careful study.

Labor and the Empire

Donald C. MacDonald

► EIGHTEEN MONTHS have indicated much of the pattern and most of the problems inherent in the British Labor Government's policy for the Empire. Within those territories where self-government is an immediate objective, events have moved forward at an accelerated pace. Labor has shown no inclination to thwart the revolutionary forces at work. Where possible, frank offers of independence have been made. As a result, the issue of lingering imperial domination has been removed at least enough to permit the indigenous problems to rise sharply to the surface. India provides the most striking example.

Writing in the *New Statesman and Nation*, May 25, 1946, H. N. Brailsford stated: "Skepticism of British motives was as bitter as it was universal . . . (but) never before had an Empire made a spontaneous surrender of power to a subject people. Indians were startled and impressed. . . . It is not too soon to say that the work of these three men (the British Cabinet Ministers) will rank among the biggest things in British history." The course since then has been troubled. But Labor's willingness to concede full independence has made it possible for India to come to grips with her basic problem of reconciling Congress and Moslem demands.

These historic developments in India have been paralleled in many other colonial territories. Negotiations in Egypt have been placed on a basis inconceivable under Tory direction. Ceylon has been granted virtual self-rule in domestic affairs. In the Malayan Union a dozen separate administrations have been brought together in one federation through which Malays, Chinese and Indians will share a common Malayan citizenship. The course is beset with difficulties, but Malaya is entering upon an exciting new experiment wherein millions of people of different races are to be drawn together under a central government based, in part to begin with, on democratic principles. Changes have been made during the past year in the constitutions of Trinidad, Kenya, Tanganyika, British Guiana, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone.

More recently, developments in Burma have clearly revealed the difference between Labor policy and that which would have been pursued had the Tories remained in power. An interim plan, falling short of independence for Burma, was proving unworkable. It was evident that the situation was going from bad to worse. So the Attlee Government dramatically offered the same opportunity for full independence as had been offered to India.

Churchill's reply in the House of Commons is a convincing answer to the charge that there has been no basic change in the Colonial Office approach to the Empire since Labor's election.

"It was said in the days of the great administrator, Lord Chatham," said Mr. Churchill, "that you would have to be up very early in the morning in order not to miss some acquisition of territory which was then characteristic of our fortunes. The not less memorable administration of the present government is distinguished for the opposite set of experiences. I must say that the British Empire seems to be running off almost as fast as the American loan. The steady and remorseless process of divesting ourselves of what has been gained by so many generations of toil, administration and sacrifice continues."

That surely is a classic statement of Tory imperialism. The British people will now be able to realize more fully the supreme wisdom of their decision in removing "the King's first minister" who so eloquently warned them of his refusal "to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."

There are in the Empire, however, many colonial territories where self-government is more distant. Here the problems are even greater, though perhaps somewhat less urgent. Development of colonial resources has lagged so that there is no economic basis for social services beyond a token scale. Education has been neglected with the result that there is neither the skilled personnel nor the general level of literacy necessary to make self-rule possible. And yet alongside this neglect there has grown up a militant nationalism whose aspirations outstrip the basic needs for meeting them. The danger inherent in a situation like this has been graphically illustrated in Jamaica. In that colony the measure of self-rule which was granted became the machinery for empowering a demagogue, Bustamante, who now poses as "prime minister." The trappings of democracy cover the growth of a native fascism.

Labor's policy, however, aims through far-reaching economic and social changes to provide the means for an effective self-government. In the first instance, it is fulfilling the spirit as well as the letter of the change brought about by the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, first passed in 1940. Prior to that year, the British Government had never conceded the principle that Britain should contribute capital to develop colonial life. The appropriation of 50 millions for a 10-year period closed the *laissez faire* phase of colonial policy and inaugurated a new conception of responsibility.

Shortly after Labor was elected, this sum of £50 million was raised to £120 million—still pitifully inadequate, but as much as Britain's straitened financial circumstances would permit. After centuries during which the colonies were exploited, chiefly for the benefit of a few in the commercial hierarchy of Britain, the flow has been reversed. Britain's hard-pressed taxpayer is contributing almost £3 per capita (at a time when Britain is also subsidizing her zone in Germany to the tune of over £80 million annually) to help raise the plight of those in the depressed areas of the world.

The growth of wage employment in the colonies has sharpened the interest in trade unions. The TUC has taken steps to extend the principles of unionism throughout the colonies. When the Colonial Development and Welfare Act

was before Parliament, some of the MP's insisted on a clause in the Bill stipulating that no money would be granted to a colony where trade-union laws fell below the British standard. Today there is a good trade-union law modelled on that of Britain in almost every colony. Labor attachés have been sent to East Africa, Malaya and Burma, to help develop trade unions. Eight years ago there were only two labor departments in all the colonial territories; today there are only two colonies—Falkland Islands and St. Helena—with labor departments.

Equal emphasis has been laid on the other pillar of democracy, the co-operative movement. A wide range of co-operative practices have been urged upon the colonial administrations, but as yet, there has been insufficient time for results to show.

Intensive study, now conducted on an organized basis by the Fabian Colonial Bureau, has led to steps for broader ownership and distribution of wealth. It has been the practice, for example, for ownership of mineral wealth to be concentrated in the hands of a few; for the dividends to be distributed abroad; and even for taxes to go to the British Treasury. All that remained for the native population was the meagre sum paid out in wages.

Labor condemned this policy in the strongest terms in its 1943 statement of colonial policy. It is encouraging to note that in December the Colonial Office published a White Paper outlining fuller details of a program which will implement its policy regarding mining resources. It is proposed to abolish the private ownership of mineral rights; to develop the resources "according to a deliberately planned program" which will key the rate of development to social as well as economic considerations; to establish labor conditions, welfare and social arrangements on a proper standard; to provide for the indigenous population to fit themselves into the highest administrative and technical posts; and to assure that an adequate share of the proceeds of mining shall be retained in the colonies.

While industrialization will become of increasing importance, an agricultural revolution of major proportions is the primary need to modernize the existing basis of the economies. Labor's policy aims at a planned production to meet nutritional needs; some stability in commodity prices; rational marketing systems; and a land policy stripped of racial discrimination which divides the population into the land-owning few and the slave millions.

But from start to finish, the fundamental problem facing the colonies is poverty. In 1939 the per capita output of Britain was £94, while in Jamaica it was £17 and in Northern Rhodesia £9. A fairer distribution of wealth is necessary; but even more important, the total productivity must be increased.

Only when this has been done will the colonies have the resources for coping seriously with the social and welfare needs. Certainly, the proportions of those needs are staggering; health alone demands trained personnel and money far beyond anything immediately available. Nigeria, for example, has an estimated one million cases of leprosy.

Today the colonies are cursed with "the vicious circle of poverty, disease, illiteracy, stagnation, and again, poverty." As the Fabian Colonial Bureau has pointed out, the Labor Government can most effectively contribute by breaking this vicious circle, for "it can never be the 'savior' for all ills of the Empire. The colonial peoples in the long run must be their own saviors . . . but bold economic experiment in each colony might at least help to create those basic conditions in which 'salvation' becomes possible."

It is too early to judge whether this new chapter in the Empire's history—even with the best of intentions at West-

minster—can establish a relationship of sufficient confidence between Britain and the remaining dependent colonies to assure their development within the Empire to eventual Commonwealth status.

Having lifted its sights, Labor's greatest task is to overcome the inertia of a complex colonial machinery; to harness the unrest of a revolutionary age for constructive change; and to achieve that new tempo in colonial affairs before it is too late. Otherwise Britain's relations with the 60 million native peoples in the remaining dependent territories will follow the same course as Ireland and India.

But Labor's aim is clear. It is to work toward self-government whether its eventual realization is within the Commonwealth or as an independent nation. Meanwhile, the whole imperial relationship is to be changed. From the point of view of Britain's own interests, as Foreign Secretary Bevin pointed out in the House of Commons, February 1, 1946, it would be wiser to place her relationship with her colonies more on a regular trade and commerce basis (such as exists between sovereign nations throughout the world) rather than the old-fashioned system with its economic exploitation.

But Britain has limited resources with which to help the Empire along its course. Furthermore, her people and particularly her Parliament, are preoccupied with domestic issues. And meanwhile it is the tempo at which colonial problems can be solved that is the key to the future course of the Empire. Those in Britain who are giving serious consideration to colonial affairs are profoundly disturbed. Dr. Rita Hinden, Secretary of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, put the problem succinctly in her recent review of the Bureau's work, *Socialists and the Empire*:

"Labor has shed its early attachment to the idea of a simple and immediate liquidation of the Empire. Instead it has evolved a reformist policy, bringing it perilously close to the policies which history and the force of public opinion have already impelled other nations to adopt. Now, the power in its hands, it finds this line cannot satisfy. A policy of reforms, however worthy, does not begin to answer the strident cries of colonial nationalism, and carries no conviction that the British Empire, even when run by socialists, is anything but the same old wolf flaunting a new lambskin. But what is the alternative? Philosophically, an impasse has been reached. . . . How can socialists carry out their policy of converting an out-of-date, discontented, abuse-ridden empire into a *voluntary* association of free, progressive nations working in co-operation with the colonial peoples and with the recognition of a sincere purpose in the eyes of other nations. It is to evolve the answer to this question that our work is now directed."

It is well to bear in mind that Mr. Arthur Creech Jones was chairman of the Fabian Colonial Bureau for the first five years of its existence (1940-5). As much as anybody, he has charted the course and shaped the thinking of the Bureau. Last October Mr. Creech Jones became Colonial Secretary. It is safe to assume, therefore, that those guiding colonial affairs are fully aware of the danger that Dr. Hinden has emphasized; and that everything possible within Britain's means will be done to cope with it.

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New Canadian Poetry

A. J. M. Smith

► MISS P. K. PAGE'S poems and stories have appeared in some of the Canadian "little magazines," in *Poetry* (Chicago), and in Ronald Hambleton's anthology, *Unit of Five*. Patrick Anderson has twice been awarded prizes by the Chicago *Poetry*, and last year the First Statement Press in Montreal published a first collection of his poems, "A Tent for April." One opens these two new books*, therefore, with some expectations and a lively curiosity. Surprise and pleasure were among the feelings with which I, for one, finished reading them, for this poetry is serious, witty and intense. Here are two young writers whose work can be placed beside that of any of the English or American poets of the same age without reservations or excuses. Although neither of these books is without faults and weaknesses, in both you can see the faults and weaknesses being overcome and watch a style and a subject emerge with clarity and power.

Miss Page, perhaps, shows the greater intensity. Some of her poems are objective, satirical, and even comic, as for example, "The Sentimental Surgeon," unfortunately not included here, or "Election Day," but her most characteristic work is subjective. In the inner life of reverie, of self-analysis, and of dreams she finds a mirror-like stage for the re-enactment of the hesitations and struggles of the outer world of objective experience. She creates for this purpose a half-psychological, half-mythological landscape, and is seeking for a myth and a language. A few recurring symbols appear over and over, and a few plots develop in slightly different ways. There is the journey by train—see "Magnetic North" and the most ambitious poem in the book, "Round Trip," and the mysterious traveller.

All is prepared for the incredible journey:
in the baggage car his trunks contain a sword,
binoculars and compass, powdered food,
shorts and a solar topee for the south,
letters of introduction and a mask.

Who is the traveller so strangely over-prepared? Where is he going? Away? In a circle? Home? "Home town," the porter calls. "End of the track." But the traveller is lost, his crying girl betrayed, and at the end, after all the hopes, excitement, fatigue, and boredom of the journey he

steps upon the platform to be met
by everyone he left . . .
he hears the words their moving mouths repeat:
that nothing's changed, that everything's the same.
Forever, everywhere, for him, the same.

In these poems illness is a constant symbol. Fever, "sleep's sickness," contagion are images of love. In "The Condemned" two lovers seek to escape from imprisonment in the cell of the separate self. They tunnel their way out and seek the spaciousness of union. But the result is disillusionment: in the public glare they fade to nothing at all. "Outside" is too big and empty. Some of the poems are dreams, or about dreams—the dream of falling, the dream of immersion, dreams of hands that were only gloves. Occasionally we hear "a surgeon's voice". The thermometer is an instrument to be watched.

The constant shifting between the outer world of surfaces and the inner world of reverie gives a sense of fluidity and impermanence. Metamorphoses occur here, and strange

*AS TEN, AS TWENTY: P. K. Page; Ryerson; pp. 43; \$2.00.

alternations of being and non-being. Yet the images in which all this is presented are hard and clear. The writing is precise and exact. These are "imaginary gardens with real toads in them". Only occasionally (in "Stories of Snow" and in some of the dream sequences of "Round Trip") does Miss Page make use of a romantic or exotic imagery:

And of the swan in death these dreamers tell
of its last flight and how it falls, a plummet,
pierced by the freezing bullet
and how three feathers, loosened by the shot,
descend like snow upon it . . .

But it is the more direct and completely contemporary pieces that show Miss Page at her most serious level. A few lines from one of the most personal of these must suffice as illustration.

Feeling my face has the terrible shine of fish
caught and swung on a line under the sun
I am frightened held in the light that people make
and sink in darkness freed and whole again
as fish returned by dream into the stream . . .

There are flowers—and this is pretty for the summer—
light on the bed of darkness; there are stones
that glisten and grow slime;
winters that question nothing, are a new
night for the passing movement of fine fins;
and quietly, by the reeds or the water fronds
something can cry without discovery.

She suffers from a disease called Pity. Its symptoms are shyness and a hatred of cruelty. She spreads her poems like germs, and some of them are contagious.

* * * *

Miss Page was associated with Anderson as an editor of *Preview*, and I believe she acknowledges the influence of his work. Anderson's poetry, however, bears only a superficial resemblance to hers. He is more exuberant, more learned, more naif, and wider in his scope. His work is more traditional than is sometimes realized, and it seems to be getting more so as it becomes simpler and better organized.

*The White Centre*¹ begins with a nature poem—a poem in praise of *scenery*—and though the language is "modern" and the phrasing metaphysical ("Chords of waves on the piano sea," "vowels of water," "the grammar of stones") — the theme, the healing power of nature on the peripient being who responds to its demands, is Wordsworthian. Nature is presented as needing, wanting, and inviting man's consciousness. Only by being realized—(this is not stated, but clearly implied)—can Nature enter into being. As Anderson puts it,

whatever is haunting there on the horizon
is wanting your mind.

But the conclusion of the poem is disappointing. The moral—a truism here rather than a truth, I am afraid—is dressed up in the specialized language of one of the many modern worlds, the world of idealistic politics (shades of Spender!).

O welcome the medicine man with the gay moral
whose lovely politics are entirely love,
who says that he is responsible to these hills—
in him they shall move.

This, however, is not a characteristic example of Anderson's writing. Generally, his work is fresh. It is filled with gaiety. Coming here on a fellowship from Oxford, he has seen Canada as a new and strange world, a little like a king-

dom in a child's fairy-tale, and he is fascinated by what the rest of us have taken for granted or are too lazy to look at. The winter, the snow, the ice, the cold, the skiers, the hockey game: all these aspects of the winter life of Montreal have been caught with an enthusiasm, an exactness, and an imaginative power that cannot but be a useful lesson in how to be local as well as universal.

Nothing could be closer to the immediate scene, nothing truer and altogether delightful than such poems as "Winter in Montreal," "Sleighride," and, simplest and most beautiful of all, the summer counterpart of these winter poems, "Camp".

But if he has made himself a local poet, Anderson has also tried to be a national poet, notably in the interesting and important, though not completely successful "Poem on Canada." Perhaps I ought to say why I think this poem falls short of its promise. In a letter to this journal welcoming the first publication of the poem, I wrote: "Here we have a serious and exuberant writer coming to grips with the fundamental task of the Canadian poet—the examination of our cultural traditions and the definition of our selfhood—and doing so with an intensity and an imaginative insight that is commensurate with the subject." In the main this is true, and it indicates why this is an important poem. But it needs to be modified. I now think the subject is bigger than I then thought. And it is bigger than Anderson's fine poem.

The poet has not limited himself to what he is capable of mastering—definition and diagnosis—and has given us, instead of a masterpiece, a poem that is brilliant in its parts, but which progressively gets more grandiose, vaguer, and weaker. At the end, Anderson makes the mistake of asking an unnecessary question: "What is the matter, then?"—an unnecessary question because the whole of the poem that has gone before has answered it perfectly. Then he asks another question—this time one that is certainly capable of no short or easy answer—"What should we do, then? what should we do?" and proceeds to answer it in terms indistinguishable from the language of the publicity men who work for the C.P.R. or the C.M.A.

—Suffer no more the vowels of Canada
to speak of miraculous things with a cleft palate—
let the Canadian,
with glaciers in his hair, straddle the continent,
in full possession of his earth and north . . .

A reference to "the iron kindness of the Russian coasts" makes no fundamental difference. The failure to answer this question is not Anderson's fault; it is the fault of all of us; but he should not have tried to give an easy answer.

Anderson is legitimately bold and ambitious in his conception of the function of poetry. For him, poetry is the interpreter of history; the poet is a prophet who tells people the secrets of their own hearts and applies them to the world we live in. The whole first section of the book is concerned with this task, and most of the poems there are completely successful. Among the best of them are "The Khaki Beam," "Bombing Berlin," "The Wives," "Portrait," and, most remarkable of all, "Mother's Boy". I single this last poem out because it is something of a new departure. It has a much more tightly controlled formal elegance than is usual among these poems. The conceits are bold but illuminating and convincing; and they are self-consistent and harmoniously related. Finally, the language itself has a dignity and precision of the order that we find, say, in Ben Jonson's "Ode to Himself". This small poem is a rare achievement in our literature. I quote it because it is one worth going to school to.

¹THE WHITE CENTRE: Patrick Anderson; Ryerson; pp. 71; \$2.00.

MOTHER'S BOY

The white and gold theatre
of his fearless face
plays the world's rage:
the cool proscenium brow
and the hair's banner—
the repertory of a hideous age.

He is the little theatre
art-loving mothers plan
and fathers pay for:
whose scenery is green
and whose enchanted distance
drenched with azure.

Now in war's social change
his pure artistic sense
must fortify its strength
with awkward violence:
he must in public play
puns and fists all day
and die with an intense
popular poetry—
delivering in a passion from the boards
Will Shakespeare's household words.

It is the sense of form and the classical perfection of language which this poem reveals that give us reason to expect much from this young poet, for these gifts go along with a rare command of metaphor and imagery. A sentence from one of the finest poems in the book, the ambitious and difficult ode "The Statues," may be cited as one final instance of the boldness and elegance of the style that Anderson has gradually achieved.

Now drowned in stone and gowned in light
these men have put on tombs — the immortal athletes
who wear the graves of their youth's perfect shape
and stand forever with advancing step.

Abdication

Only the alluvial
bottoms of March
with the mauve underbrush
and the mole-headed maples
stroked in like fur
approve this cowardly
diffusion of the psyche
into negation and cloud.

Winter-harried, worn,
abdicate then, if you must,
threading like smoke
the lavender copse.
In this last moment before spring,
before tulips, and the unmatched greens,
immerse once more in meadow-mist
and the waters of Lethe.

Christine Turner Curtis.

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The UNESCO Program

Helen Frye

► FOR A MONTH Unesco was in session and Paris was host to delegates from 33 nations and others coming as observers which brought the number of nations represented to 48. A well-chosen Canadian group sat among such celebrities as Julian Huxley, J. B. Priestley, Leon Blum, René Cassin, Frederick Jolicoeur, Archibald MacLeish, Chester Bowles, Sir Ronald Adam, John Grierson and Paul Rotha, to name a few. The Canadians were Dr. Victor Doré, Dr. G. Fred McNally, Edmond Turcotte, Herman Voorden, Dr. E. Floyd Willoughby, Miss Margaret Gill, Dr. R. K. Larmour, Elizabeth Wyn Wood, with Miss Kathleen Fenwick, L. A. D. Stevens, Paul Beaulieu and Graham McInnes as advisors.

The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization was formed to help preserve peace through understanding. Its charter says "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed". It is a world attack on the forces which lead men to accept war. It is not unnatural that there was at the beginning some fear that one nation or another might be trying to throw its weight around or corner the world market of ideas. Russia, naturally suspicious of Unesco's free flow of information and ideas, has so far refused to participate.

Unesco must be universal and above all doctrines whether religious, economic or political, it has to avoid imposing any one set of national doctrines on the rest of the world. The conference showed that the ideas had to be curbed of some of those budget busters who demanded large sums for types of research which rightfully should be financed in other ways. There was a minor altercation between the British and Americans over the budget when the latter won out with a proposal of a six million annual budget. Some wanted to devote Unesco's first year to long-range surveys. Others demanded concrete plans, few in number, immediately important and obviously useful. This was the attitude of the Canadian delegation, and the delegates worked hard with this in mind. In the Creative Arts section most of their proposals were adopted. The drafting committee had to take a firm hand with many pet schemes and boil down the final plan from some 150 items, keeping those which were most urgent and most likely to contribute to peace and the spread of knowledge.

The most urgent work for this first year is to remove communication barriers and to restore schools. The present educational inequality between nations is a menace to peace; another approach to the problem of illiteracy is through a world radio. After a directive from UN, France, England and the United States all prepared special programs dealing with a world-wide radio network and a survey of press, film, television and postal services, an international radio forum and a world university of the air. This scheme is to be discussed further at the next general session of Unesco.

Unesco will co-operate with libraries and museums and an international clearing house for publications of all kinds is proposed. In some places there are large stock-piles of books which will be distributed where they are most needed. An international lending system, augmented by the resources of modern photography and reproduction methods, will help make information available to remote places. Unesco does not set itself up as a printing house, but rather as a distributing centre.

To share scientific knowledge, food teams are to be sent to India, China and later to Africa, to make studies of agriculture, nutrition, etc. In view of the world need for new

materials and food, other experts will work on the task of finding how to make the tropical forests of the Amazon habitable.

Unesco will attempt to establish an office to promote the translation of the best literature into other languages. In the fields of communication which are not dependent upon words, great plans are being launched. A study will be made of the role of education in the creative arts at all levels, and it was recommended that information services in the creative arts should be established. The sub-commission resolved that the freedom of creative artists was a matter of concern to all nations and must be defended. By "creative artists" is meant writers, workers in the plastic arts, films, theatre, and musicians.

The world-wide circulation of books, plays, painting and works of sculpture is to be encouraged by Unesco; it will also assist international festivals for theatre and ballet and music. This is to be done through existing organizations such as libraries, theatres and museums. Where needed, it is hoped that new community centres will be established. In Canada, for instance, this would have to be done through the national commission.

There are obstacles which must be overcome. One is the lack of teaching materials. Here the resources of color photography and sound reproduction will be used on a scale never before attempted. For artists in devastated countries, materials for their crafts will be supplied where needed. Another difficulty is the existing high costs of transport, duties, and various forms of red tape connected with works of art crossing national boundaries. Unesco will work as a central organizing body to help simplify this movement of materials.

The question of copyright kept bobbing up all over the place, for it is a stickler. Unesco wants as large an output of art and of information about it as possible. At the same time, works of art are the livelihood of their originators and just how much they should be protected by copyright is an important question. Piracy and general anarchy abound in the field of the creative arts, and this question, which started in the sub-commission on mass media, was finally recognized as essential to the committee on the creative arts. It is hoped that an international copyright convention will be held in 1947 in Brussels.

Unesco will encourage the direct exchange of scholars, educators, teachers in all fields, of scientists as mentioned above, of creative artists. International schools will be publicized; there will be international conferences, festivals, concerts, plays. A committee will work on transport reduction for people and for all such necessary luggage as stage sets.

Another matter discussed by the sub-commission on creative arts dealt with the preservation of existing monuments of world culture. This led to the question of how best to preserve the arts and culture of non-industrialized peoples, and Unesco will co-operate with existing agencies, for instance the Canadian Handicraft Guild in its interest in Eskimo art.

Part of the program which deserves great emphasis is the study by the social scientists of the tensions which lead to war, nationalism, population pressure and the effects of technological progress on the well-being of peoples. Scholars in different fields will have to get together and work on the major problem we have to face: how can nations learn to respect each other, preserve their own national traits, and get along with each other even if, after they grow to know each other better, they may not like what they know? Faster communication is not enough, what is communicated is what is important. For world communications were in a pretty fair state before this war; a world's fair was in progress when

the war broke out and the Japanese and the German armies were two of the most highly literate in the world.

What projects are to be undertaken first is up to the Director-General, and a financial administration officer. The executive board will meet three times this year under the chairmanship of Dr. Victor Doré, Canadian Minister to Belgium, and chief of the Canadian delegation. The decision is to be made by the end of January. A standing committee of 8 meets each month in Paris at Unesco House which was formerly the Majestic Hotel. There is an active information bureau established in Paris, and affairs in Canada will be looked after by a new Canadian national committee which we hope will be set up at once. Some sections want more money than was allotted to them but it is safe to say that no section will get as much money as hoped for. Naturally this will be a factor in the choice of projects.

A report on progress will be published soon and copies may be obtained from Unesco House, Paris, or the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa. The next general conference will be held in Mexico City in November of this year.

In Praise Of Hypocrisy

Hypocrisy is oft decried
Without much thought of what's implied.
Renouncing it, we must admit
A lot of awkward things, to wit:
Though with the French our life we share
We'd just as soon they were not there.
(Egalement vrai, je vous avère, Sir,
Pour nous autres français, vice-versa.)
That every struggling Canuck hates
The condescension of The States;
And privately we all revile
The smug, superior British style.
That Moscow Jo and Co depend
Largely on what we fought to end.
That Monty (bless him!), triumph-fed,
Has got a very swollen head.
That good Toronto was all a hustle
To view the contours of Miss Russell.
Or—to discourse on general matters—
Woman believes only what flatters;
And nothing satisfies man so
As seeing a better man brought low,
Unless perhaps the secret glee
Of watching old friends disagree.
But why prolong the tale of woe?
You'll find it all in Rochefoucauld.
Granted, then, human nature needs
A cloak to hide its dirty deeds
Let no rash meddling fool decry
The value of hypocrisy.

Geoffrey Vivien

Pattern

The light is webbed with old shadows
And out of the shadows
Someone keeps playing the same tune;
Helpless, I turn again
Fitting the old words to the relentless strain,
Certain to repeat the old remorse,
Conscious of feet treading remembered measures
To a rhythm patterned in time;
Rating the words and the closing shadows—
Hating the time that repeats
Like a tune played too often,
Learned too well.

A. E. Robertson.

London Revisited - 1946

Dorothy Livesay

I

In the cavern of cold
Chill of the world
Turn of the old
Year's leaf to the soil,
September to sere
In the cave of the year,
The long-fingered wall
Of the house disembowelled
Stares in a prayer
Voiceless, unvoiced:
Inerasably stained
The stone is unveiled.

(But down in the pit
Where the cellar was lit
It is green, it is gold:
From grass and leaf mould
Willow herbs knit
With goldenrod's hold.)

In the cave of the year
The underground ride
Hearts knock in fear
Map is no guide—
Whose in this hand
Chained to your side?

II

Once it was death's. We saw
The bone of the beast,
Stretcher-bearer's torch
Flashed on his dark feast.

Once in the tense sky
Riveted with blood
We visioned blank defeat,
The iron flood.

Had not our prophets cried:
Ruin! No release!
And politicians lied
Predicting peace?

Now in the surging street
Sway and sweep of song;
It is not death whose arm
Hurries us along.

It is not death, for that
We met with a proud smile
Tossing a hand-grenade
At the rocket's snarl.

It is not death, but he
We feared, we fled:
Our brother, searching us—
Love's lightning tread.

III

Coming with guide and gift, I fell
Blundering through dark, around
No builded wall.

I fell and heard my fall
Echoing through the tall
Rubble of rift and wreck
Down to the low unreaching wretched wall
Through the last door hung
On a naked nail.
And the stairs flung
Up to the throne of hell:
And above, no ceiling
And below, no wall.

IV

O feet that found the way to bed
The narrow place where prayers were said
That danced a circle on the floor
And kicked a hollow on the door!

O feet that morning, noon and night
Suffered the hour to be delight
That waded in the sun-cloaked grass
Or felt the aching snow's embrace;

Into the parapet of time
Memorial tower of the mind
You have ascended in a climb
Sudden as a flying bomb;

You have left the city's face
Scarred and grimed by human hand
And all the magic of her map
Crumbling into brick and sand!

And though the michaelmas is here
A mauve repose on mildewed stain
And children swing on girders grown
Rusty with the wrack of rain.

And though the mushroom houses grow
In prim, pre-fabricated row;
Where debris was, a park will be
And here, a chaste community.

Still lies the skeleton behind,
The bony manufactured grin,
The voice we heard time out of mind
That rustles when the leaves are thin.

And still the footprints trace the map,
Scuttle across the veins and flaws,
Reverberating on the heart
To warn the way that winter was.

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"The Puritan Conquest of England"

J. S. Cowan

► A BROCHURE, *The Puritan Conquest of England*, by John Gloag, has been "published by Gladstone Murray, Responsible Enterprise, Victory Building, Toronto, December, 1946." We are told nowhere in these twelve pages who John Gloag is, though the words "Author's Copyright" are found on page eleven. Whether the name is real or fictitious is no matter. But it seems hardly credible that even the irresponsible founder of Responsible Enterprise should put his approval on such grotesque nonsense.

Here, in essence is what the author says: The Puritans under Cromwell conquered England in the 1640's; the Puritans under Attlee conquered it again in the 1940's. Cromwell took over to glorify God, Attlee to glorify Karl Marx, Russia and Lenin. There was, however, an "impersonal nobility" in the first conquest, for though the Puritans destroyed the arts and all civilized living, they did it in the name of Christianity. The Puritans (Socialists) of today seek only "the establishment of equalitarian materialism, which is designed to deprive a great and once-free people of the high standards of life, adventure and accomplishment which their industrial and trading talents could command."

Mr. Gloag informs us that while the motivation of the Puritans of today and of the 17th century is different, the end purpose is the same: to make earthly existence as mean as all-get-out for "those who enjoy the pleasures of life and practise the art of living." The Puritan in every age is intolerant and suspicious, lacking "the normal capacity for enjoyment that distinguished their fellowmen." To him "everybody is sinful and nobody can be trusted to look after himself or to be conscientious in his duties and moderate in his pleasures."

We also learn that in the happy Middle Ages most Puritans lived in monasteries and were celibates; with the destruction of the monasteries the ascetics who lived in them were turned loose, and, freed from vows of celibacy, their vitality soon bred so many of these sourpuss fellows that the 17th century witnessed the first Puritan Conquest, with its crushing one-idea'd mania which "paralyzed the English at home and succeeded in making them obnoxious abroad." The year 1660 saw the end of the first Puritan government with the restoration of Charles II, their experiment with it giving the people such a distaste for Puritan rule that "two hundred and eighty-five years passed before they were again allowed to have power."

But they are in again, and, brother, are the English ever taking it on the chin. The Puritans were tough but their present-day counterparts are far tougher. "Nobody living in England can mistake the character of this present Puritan government. With its enormous majority in the House of Commons, with its fanatical insistence on a certain brand of political faith, it is speeding along the road that leads to dictatorship, to the totalitarian autocracy which the English-speaking peoples have resisted throughout their long history and against the threat of which they have fought two major wars within thirty years."

"Nobody now living . . . can mistake the character . . . of this government," but most everybody goes right on voting for it. The darn chumps!

Mr. Cloag tells us that before and between the periods of Puritan repression the English were a great and free people, with everyone enjoying peace and prosperity, because the

industrial and trading talents of the people had free expression. Always it was the happy, happy land when the Puritans (and Socialists) were kept in their place.

No one knowing anything of England would question her greatness in industry or trade. But that these features of her life have always been characterized by nobility and high-mindedness is a point a querulous individual might raise. Have Englishmen never, at great profit to themselves and not very much good to others, traded in slaves and opium? Did they never use convict ships to deport those dyspeptic persons who stupidly suggested English industrialists were not always more than generous to their employees? Remember those arrogant Methodist preachers who said the workers were starving and that they should have unions. Thank God the judges of the 19th century were made of the good strong fibre which could send these subversive troublemakers packing!

That even in such a sane and progressive country as England today there are vocal nationals mentally hard-crusted enough to write this kind of stuff is neither surprising nor important. But that an expert propagandist like Gladstone Murray should consider such a historical monstrosity good anti-socialist propaganda is important. For if there is an audience for this kind of thing, their existence creates a social and cultural problem that cannot be ignored.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor:

I have been a reader of *The Canadian Forum* for many years and have just read the article "Duplessis vs. Jehovah." I was very surprised at your treatment of Mr. Duplessis. You seem to use this incident to bring up unrelated matters, to question the honesty and good intentions of a fellow-citizen and (quoting from the article) "to insult him by calling him evil names."

On the other hand an article in Jehovah's Witnesses' journal, *Awake*, sticks very close to the issues involved. It is called "Quebec, you have failed your people," and puts the responsibility squarely on the shoulders of all who in any way support the illegal putsch against Jehovah's Witnesses. The article upholds the rights of all and makes no excuses for so doing.

Could it be that you are ashamed of liberty and believe it a crime to criticize a religious group in power? The title and vein of your article so indicates.

Marvin Howe, Anderson, Ind., U.S.A.

Murder

Shall we have reversed interrogation,
Unquote the often-quoted simile,
Endeavor earnestly for innovation,
Slaughter rhyme and outlaw rhythm;

Know not our own brainchildren, harbor bastards
And abortionize legitimate desire,
Undress the nude deformed idea
Prismatically cosmological?

Yes, brother jive and sister hepcat.
Over-sensualize me in the dance

Of seven veils and bear me on a silver platter
To the headless body and the murdered mind.

Clarence Alva Powell

Recordings

Philip Freedman

► FEW of the records scheduled for release in January had reached Toronto stores in time to be reviewed in this month's column. Christmas shoppers had cleaned out local stocks and the record companies were too busy replenishing them to have many new records ready. Those that were available will be of little interest to the serious collector. But they will probably sell well and strengthen the record companies in their determination to keep offering us new recordings of only that music which is familiar to us through old recordings and repeated radio performance. In music, familiarity breeds content, and certainly many buyers must be contented with what the record companies offer. I would not quarrel with a person's wish to buy what he likes nor with the companies' natural desire to satisfy this profitable portion of the public. However, collectors with academic or uncommon tastes are treated with a neglect to which objection must be raised. In particular, it is distressing to be offered more musical trivia when much of Victor's fine American and British collections is available in Canada.

In spite of the objections of the critics, there is likely to be no improvement in this situation in the near future. Record players are becoming generally available, so that the companies are using their increased allotment of materials for the production of more copies of those records which often form the beginning of a collection. The manager of the Promenade Music Centre in Toronto, where records are obtained for review in this column, says that they cannot get enough copies of popular favorites to satisfy the increasing demand. It appears, then, that lovers of chamber music and other forms of more limited appeal have no alternative but to wait.

The one album that was available was "Songs by Victor Herbert" (Victor DM 1069—\$5.05), sung by Dorothy Kirsten accompanied by an orchestra and chorus under Russ Case. Undeniably, the Herbert melodies have charm, even for those young enough to listen to them without nostalgic pangs. Dorothy Kirsten has a lovely voice admirably suited to this sort of song. In spite of this, I found it impossible to listen to the six sides without being bored by the concentrated sweetness. Some of the songs have been tampered with by the conductor, who has altered Victor Herbert's rhythms to smooth swing tempos. The accompanying notes call this modernizing. The chorus chimes in occasionally with harmony of the close saccharine variety. I would recommend that buyers get any of the records they like, singly rather than the whole album.

On a single disc, Alexander Brailowsky plays Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 (Victor—\$1.35). Those who actually like the music are usually more pleased with the orchestral transcription than with the original piano form; those who admire virtuosity will find that Horowitz has recorded equally uninteresting music involving much more complicated gymnastics in its execution; those who admire fine piano recording had better look elsewhere.

Victor also offers Lucia Albenesa singing two Arias from *La Traviata* (\$1.35). She has a fine voice but she often sings inaccurately, superimposing on Verdi's music an entirely unwarranted rubato. Those who like their musical climaxes heralded and over-emphasized may like her renditions. The orchestral accompaniment, by the R.C.A. Orchestra under Weissmann, is dull.

A short time ago Simon and Schuster published a book called *A Treasury of Grand Opera*. It contains the stories

of seven operas and the music of the main arias, and has received excellent reviews. Now Victor issues an album of the same name. The records, which I haven't heard, should make a useful supplement to the book and be of some educational value.

Film Review

D. Mosdell

► EVERYONE, I suppose, ought to see *Open City*. A great deal of what has been written about it in the American press is true; it is the most convincing picture about ordinary people in war that has been produced in the last six or seven years—always excepting the newsreels, of course. Watching it, no one could fail to feel pity, horror, and a kind of helpless anger, as the familiar story develops against an ironic background of the magnificent scarred masonry that is home. People are herded like sheep, and, shot without compunction like rabbits, lie grotesquely in the wide dignified streets. Because the film is a story, the main characters lead brief dramatic lives full of action; they escape, hide, are betrayed, beaten, tortured, and die heroically. There is also in the picture some indication of the corroding nervous tension under which the smaller people live who are too young or old to protest much, the less spectacular but equally real death of the passive partisans, the children, and the old and infirm. The one priest in the story is a partisan sympathiser who dies in front of a firing squad in the end quietly and without fuss, saying that the difficult thing is not to die well, but to live well. His relation to the other characters, particularly the children, is significant in a way which many of us find difficult to understand; he represents a secondary basic security to them, underlying that of the family and supporting it, and when he is shot, their entire world collapses. The picture is so good that we see and appreciate this double loss whether we are in fact sympathetic to Catholicism or not.

Some attention is also paid to the Germans; they are ridiculous, but both frightening and understandable—mad, but logically so, and monstrous as much out of a reasoned policy as from sheer animal inclination. As a matter of fact, the picture was made in Rome, parts of it while the Germans were still in occupation, by a company of actors and actresses, notably Anna Magnani, whose previous experience was limited to little theatre groups; their acting is plainly and even heavily sincere in the sympathetic Partisan roles, and though not as convincing in the German roles, it still compares favorably with Hollywood's. Their experiences as people prevented them from perceptibly overacting roles they had ample opportunity of observing first-hand.

By comparison with Hollywood standards, then, *Open City* is extremely good. Nevertheless, something more remains to be said: that this kind of movie is more likely to produce rhetoric than action. Its one message, that war is hell, that people are bestial, heroic, loving and stupid, and that all these qualities are heightened and emphasized by war, is a familiar one. Dwelling more than momentarily on these facts seems to me to lead to emotional attitudinizing; and it is possible to go on attitudinizing indefinitely, without seeing any necessity, for example, of revising our individual or national thinking with regard to Russia or the atomic bomb. There is no evitable bridge between feeling and thinking and action, particularly when the feeling is produced through the comparatively facile medium of the cinema. *Open City* will certainly reinforce our distaste for war; but whether it will promote reasonable thinking, let alone action, is a debatable point.

TURNING NEW LEAVES

► ONE of the curious features of our Canadian politics is that there is so little writing about the subject beyond the editorials in newspapers and periodicals. About the political institutions of Great Britain and the United States you can get any number of books which discuss all aspects of the subject from every conceivable point of view. But if you are asked for a good book discussing how our Canadian government works you are in difficulties. You can, it is true, draw up quite a list of learned specialist studies. But a good general book has long been needed. And here it is.

Professor Corry* analyses the problems of democratic government as they express themselves in the working of the governments of Canada, Great Britain and the United States. He has chapters on Constitutions, the Expansion of Governmental Activities, the Executive, the Legislature, Political Parties, Pressure Groups, the Judiciary, the Civil Service, Federalism and Local Government. In each of them he brings out the similarities and the differences between the British and the American ways of doing things, and then he explains how far Canada has followed the British and how far the American example. He discusses also the general differences between the Anglo-Saxon approach to governmental problems and that of the western European nations. The whole book is very clearly organized, and the tone of the discussion is sensible, fair and cool throughout.

A CCF'er who wants to test the validity of Professor Corry's method of procedure might turn to pages 168-171, where he deals with the CCF. There is a great deal of shrewd and wise analysis packed into these three pages. In fact it wouldn't be a bad idea if they were reprinted in CCF journals across the country. "The CCF regards itself as a movement as well as a party. As a movement, it has a sense of mission which the older parties lack . . . Like other human institutions, political parties are corrupted by power; and the CCF has not yet been exposed seriously to its baneful influence. It is clear, however, that in its emphasis on research, education, and continuous intensive effort, it has grasped what present-day conditions require of democratic parties. The CCF may not be what the country needs but it does bring into sharp relief some of the defects of the older parties." If he had wished to be cynical Professor Corry might have added that, while the CCF is more national in its outlook than the older parties, it is experiencing the emergence of the same sectionalism which is inherent in all Canadian national institutions, and provincial CCF organizations show the same strong dislike for interference, guidance, or advice from the national office which other provincial bodies have been known to show.

There are some points, however, in Professor Corry's argument which seem to me to be open to serious question. His emphasis, which runs all through the book, on the fact that expansion of governmental activities lies behind nearly all our modern problems makes his whole discussion particularly enlightening. So also his insistence on the necessity of political parties in a free democratic society, and his defense of pressure groups are admirable. But he goes too far in one respect. He is so anxious to preserve the stability and the efficiency which our two-party system gives to the three democracies of the North Atlantic Triangle that he tends to talk as if we were really faced by a serious danger that the two-party system might disintegrate into the multi-group system of continental Europe. When he builds up his case against Proportional Representation on these grounds one can hardly help being reminded of the exaggerated

*DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: J. A. Corry; University of Toronto Press; pp. viii, 468; \$3.75.

language in which our bank presidents used to indulge back in the old sound-money days when they painted lurid pictures of the dangers of inflation and preached to us about assignats in the French Revolution. They kept this up until some of their young secretaries, who had been reading Keynes and had come to understand about managed currency, tipped the old boys off not to make such exhibitions of themselves.

Professor Corry on P.R. reads to me like these bankers on inflation. Surely all our experience in British, American and Canadian politics goes to show that, with or without P.R., there is not the slightest likelihood of our deserting our well-established two-party system. But it is a paradox of this North Atlantic two-party system that it works best when there are more than two parties. The essence of it is that we have two main national parties, who alternate in the responsibility of governing the country, and that they are kept intellectually alive and morally honest by the perpetual new challenges coming from new third and fourth parties. These minor parties are just as essential a part of the two-party system as are the two major parties themselves. Most of them have a very short life, since the major parties save themselves by stealing the new programs. But every now and then one of them ceases to be a third party and rises to national status by eliminating one of the old major parties and taking its place. This is the way the Republican party arrived in the United States and the Labor party in Britain. There is a pretty good chance that the same thing will happen to the CCF in Canada. Professor Corry does not pay enough attention to the essential function performed by the threat of these minor parties nor to the invariable process by which we always get back to the healthy balance of two major parties.

One must complain also that when he gets to the end of his treatise and comes to local government, he seems to lose the cool matter-of-fact realism that has characterized his pages up to this point. On local government he soars off to an idealized Utopia. He is so anxious to find in a vigorous local government a counterpoise to the Leviathan at the centre that he talks too much of local governments as they might be rather than as they are.

It so happened that I read this chapter on the night of January 1, sitting in an easy chair with the radio beside me reporting the results of the Toronto municipal elections. What remote connection was there between Professor Corry's fine words about local government being closer to the citizens and more responsible to them and the realities reported by the radio? The citizens of Toronto have so lost faith in the possibility of their doing anything about their municipal government that only 28% of them voted at all. What is the use of that fatuous slogan, "Vote as You Like but Vote" when they see all around them the annual near-breakdown of traffic at the first snowstorm of the season? Maybe things are better in smaller centres like Kingston. But a tourist can only conclude from the general slovenly look of Kingston that if that sleepy little place is considered by the natives to enjoy good government it is only because they expect so little from their government. And this is true of practically all our Ontario towns. The fact is that our local governments are the great failures in our present democratic system. They have failed completely to rise to the constructive opportunities that are made available by modern industrial and engineering techniques. A tourist travelling through the towns of New York or of New England is constantly struck by the beautiful new town-halls and post-offices, the new consolidated schools, the new parks and playgrounds, the new housing schemes, which show that there is some real public spirit and imagination at work there. But then he reflects that nearly all these phenomena are

the results of the invigorating influence and the financial generosity of the national government at Washington, the very government of which Professor Corry is so suspicious.

Since he is discussing how democracy works, one wishes also that Professor Corry had devoted some chapters to the "opinion industries", to all those institutions—press, radio, schools, churches, amusement enterprises, etc., whose activities do so much to determine how much information the citizen gets about public affairs and how he thinks or avoids thinking about them.

But on the whole this is a splendid book. It marks an advance in Canada because the author, in dealing with the influences that have played upon our democratic institutions, treats the United States on terms of absolute equality with Great Britain. He takes care to point out how often British forms in Canada have been twisted so as to work in an American way. He deserves praise for the clear unsentimental tone in which he discusses the rival British and American models, even if he does always conclude in favor of the British. We do, after all, slowly make progress in our Canadian academic thinking. Perhaps in another twenty or thirty years some Canadian professor of political science, greatly daring, will advance the hypothesis that the frequency with which the Canadian people have in practice adopted American rather than British models points to the greater suitability of some of the American models for our Canadian purposes.

FRANK H. UNDERHILL.

BOOKS REVIEWED

FARM PLANS

CANADIAN AGRICULTURAL POLICY—THE HISTORICAL PATTERN: Vernon C. Fowke; University of Toronto Press; pp. 304; \$3.50.

Canadian farmers have been a factor of significance in directing government policy only when their interests have clearly coincided with those of some other group in the community, whether merchant, carrier or manufacturer, despite an unbroken numerical predominance of farmer electors throughout Canadian history. This thesis seems to be substantiated in a masterly and stimulating study of Canadian agriculture by Dr. Fowke, who is associate professor of economics at the University of Saskatchewan.

Farmers who have thought themselves victims of the times will learn here that they have been victims of the fact that commerce controls government, and that this has been so from the earliest days of settlement. If at times there has been encouragement to agriculture it has been "because of what agriculture was expected to do for other dominant interests in return for assistance, rather than for what such assistance might do for agriculture." The French encouraged agriculture on the St. Lawrence chiefly for the defense of territorial, commercial and ecclesiastical empire. Thus while the habitants preferred horses to oxen for the cultivation of their land for hauling wood and grain "the authorities feared the habitants might lose the ability to walk, so necessary for defense activities," and discouraged horse-raising.

Thus "Agricola," who inspired an early nineteenth century attempt to impose British farming practices on Nova Scotia, was a Halifax merchant, but the interest of government and merchants in agriculture did not last. It was only in times of depression that "the fundamental mercantilistic conscience regarding the evil of loss of specie came to the fore and made domestic provisions especially attractive." In the years immediately preceding Confederation Nova Scotia was spending on agricultural encouragement one-half of one percent of the provincial budget. Montreal merchants

did not like British legislation of duties on other produce. "The vigor with which the St. Lawrence merchants attacked the new structure and overturned it, despite the way in which it was favored by the farming class, illustrates the point that mercantile interests would tolerate nothing favoring farm prosperity if it threatened to encroach upon mercantile prosperity."

The agricultural settlement of the St. Lawrence and Upper Canada regions became an economic frontier, which "at any point of time is whatever place and whatever economic activity gives rise to investment opportunities on a substantial scale." Immigrants had to be transported, housed, fed, and clothed; and their settlement on the land required the accumulation of capital equipment. The search for success stories, to induce other immigrants to come to Canada, was a "delicate matter, and can only be rendered serviceable to the country by a very judicious selection of the persons to be questioned." The chairman of the board of agriculture at Toronto in the 1880's was advised: "If you know a successful man in the Gore or in Esquesing who came out poor and penniless and has succeeded, get his history on that sheet and return it." The area the government was attempting to colonize lay within the margins of the pre-Cambrian shield and included Algonquin Park and its agricultural possibilities.

An attempt to find a new economic frontier in the prairies was "one of the important purposes underlying the sponsorship of Confederation by the province of Canada." Commercial, financial and transportation interests were dissatisfied with the rate of agricultural development on the St. Lawrence. Immigration and agriculture became identified. In the years after 1900 "the capital fixation involved in the opening of the Canadian west was sufficient to vitalize and integrate the Dominion." After 1930 it was realized that "western agriculture had served its original purposes in the national economy and the frontier dynamic was gathering in the paper and mineral areas of the pre-Cambrian shield, chiefly in Ontario and Quebec." Agriculture in the New World had been "held essential to the erection and maintenance of empire, by the French, the British, and eventually by the central Canadian provinces."

Farmers neither secured tariff protection when they were protectionist nor freedom of trade when they were free traders. Even the western farmers' political success of 1921 enabled them to secure few of their objectives. "After 1930 western farmers and Canadian agricultural groups generally were reduced to asking for relief instead of reform."

Canadian Agricultural Policy represents several years of painstaking labor in the assembling of information which should enable farm people to map out a better plan of campaign for the future than any they have had in the past. A pamphlet summary of this splendid book, if made available, would be invaluable to farm leaders, farm organizations and study groups, and could be an important factor in determining farm people to link themselves with other groups in the nation to throw off commercial domination.

Andrew Hebb.

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CANADA

THE ROAD TO NATIONHOOD: Wilfred Eggleston; Oxford; pp. xv, 337; \$2.50.

This is a book which should be read by all Canadians who want to understand what lies behind the discussions, manœuvres and fights that have gone on more or less continuously between the federal and the provincial governments ever since the appointment of the Rowell-Sirois Royal Commission

in 1937. Mr. Eggleston, who served on the secretariat of that Commission, here tells the story of Dominion-Provincial financial relations from the B.N.A. Act to the present. His opening chapters give an explanation of the difficulties involved in the set-up of 1867, difficulties which became more and more obvious from about 1900. The provinces with rigidly restricted sources of income began to undertake new and expanding expenditures for roads, schools and the modern



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social services. Their difficulties culminated with the unemployment crisis of the 1930's which threw on them burdens that were unsupportable.

From the appointment of the Rowell-Sirois Commission Mr. Eggleston's narrative becomes much more detailed. He tells exactly what the Commission did and what happened at each of the Dominion-Provincial conferences from 1941 to 1946. He explains the differences between the Rowell-Sirois recommendations and the more recent proposals of the King government. Quite clearly, if there is a hero in his story, it is the government of Manitoba. But he does not take sides. He gives very clearly and fairly the arguments presented by all the governments concerned. He does not condemn the stand taken by the Drew and Duplessis governments. He simply sets forth in complete and damning detail exactly what Messrs. Drew and Duplessis have said and done during the past few years.

His book will long be a treasured storehouse of quotations for historians seeking illustrations of the different interpretations of the nature of our federal system. Unfortunately it is not likely that the general public will have the patience to read and study his brilliant factual analysis of what is meant in practice by the rhetorical catchwords about provincial autonomy and centralization, about democracy and self-government and dictatorship, which fill the newspaper headlines. But if the voters will not take the pains to study a major issue such as is presented in this volume, they deserve the kind of governmental financial paralysis from which they are likely to suffer.

F.H.U.

FARRELL

SHORT STORIES: James T. Farrell; Penguin Books; pp. 213; 25c.

BERNARD CLARE: James T. Farrell; Vanguard Press; pp. 367; \$2.75. (Banned in Canada.)

For readers of Farrell there is nothing new in the excellent Penguin selection of 13 stories. Dating from 1928 to 1943, they serve to remind us once again of the continuity of Farrell's work. Alone of the major figures of the 'thirties he has forged steadily ahead, undisturbed by the shifting winds of doctrine—or by the hysterical attacks of the literary hatchet men whom he characterized, with customary truculence, as the League of Frightened Philistines. By the same token he remains a major figure of the 'forties while his contemporaries have retired into a profound and apparently unbreakable silence.

The familiar Farrell characters are here; the youths smothering in the barren environment of lower middle class Irish Catholic family life; the young men and boys wandering the bleak Chicago streets, brooding, wishing and day-dreaming; the bewildered and broken parents, seeking consolation in memories of the past or in the rantings of the radio priest, Father Moyle (Coughlin). They are helplessly trapped in the crumbling ruins of the landmarks of their lives—home, church and school.

The selection includes one of the earliest and most moving of Farrell's stories, "Studs" which later developed into the *Studs Lonigan* trilogy. It concludes with the 1939 novelette, "Tommy Gallagher's Crusade," a portrait of the embryonic American fascist. This is more of a political pamphlet than a work of fiction and it bears evidence of hasty and somewhat shallow writing. But the type is no less prevalent in these days of Gerald L. K. Smith—not to speak of Solon Low.

The stories are wisely chosen to illustrate one of Farrell's most significant themes. In his foreword, he writes: "These stories, then, are tales of the realities of life today. They are stories of urban youth. They can be approached in terms

of this problem: What is the condition of childhood and youth in urban, twentieth-century America?"

This is one of the questions Farrell has been asking ever since he began writing. He asked it and answered it at great length in *Studs Lonigan* and again in the *Danny O'Neill* series. And that answer is a terrible indictment of the spiritual and cultural wasteland that capitalism has made of America. If Farrell is sometimes repetitious it should be remembered that what he is saying cannot be said too often or too forcibly—and that, in the present condition of American writing he is almost alone in saying it.

The question is with us again in *Bernard Clare*, the novel presently under ban by the eminent literary authorities in the customs department at Ottawa. Forum readers are no doubt aware of the circumstances through Farrell's recent article on these pages. I went through the book carefully, looking for evidence of the alleged obscenities from which Mr. Sim is trying to protect our tender sensibilities. Well, I didn't find any.

This novel examines the condition of a certain type of youth of America, the artist, and it is aptly prefaced with a quotation from the letters of Chekhov: "What writers belonging to the upper class have received from nature for nothing, plebeians acquire at the cost of their youth."

That cost is herein recorded. *Bernard Clare*, 21 and determined to become a writer, comes from Chicago to the New York of the '20s. Tormented by loneliness, by the need of a girl, he lives in a glorified flop house and tries to write in the public library. He works in a cigar store and later, to his own disgust, becomes something of a success as an advertising salesman. He struggles to keep his principles intact. He has an affair with a married woman that ends in disaster when her husband discovers it. In the end, after a period of gin and cynicism he returns to Chicago, matured but undefeated. His youth is left behind in the streets of New York.

To go back to the Penguin foreword, Farrell makes the point that the loneliness of young people in the isolating conditions of modern city life is due, in part, to their failure to recognize that their problems are bound up with the common problems of the time. "When I was a boy and when I was a youth," he writes, "I felt that I was alone in facing the problems that were troubling me; so often I seemed lost in an inner state of bewildered loneliness."

This is precisely the mood of *Bernard Clare*. More consciously than the majority of Farrell characters, he broods endlessly over his lot in a world he never made. And only once does he find his personal problems dissolved in the common problem of his time—when he stands with thousands of others in the cathedral-like atmosphere of Union Square on the day of the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. This, incidentally, is one of the most vivid chapters in the novel and a refutation of those critics who say that Farrell cannot write with economy and power.

The weakness of *Bernard Clare* lies in the lack of the massive documentation that gave *Studs Lonigan* its cumulative impact. The novel is most successful when it moves away from a too detailed preoccupation with the often adolescent obsessions of Bernard, into the life of the city and the time. Perhaps this is in the nature of the theme, but neither New York nor the atmosphere of the '20s ever comes to life with the raw vividness of the South Chicago streets. It is probably inevitable but unfair that Farrell's later work is measured against the yardstick of *Studs Lonigan*.

Carping critics will find plenty of examples in both stories and novel of Farrell's all too frequent ineptness of phrase and clumsiness of style. They will complain that the stories are sometimes formless slabs of reportage and they will prob-

ably lay the blame at the door of that much used term, naturalism. But it would be unfair to quibble about such things in these days of literary drought when any number of writers are saying nothing in excellent prose.

William Brown.

LITERATURE

NEW WRITING AND DAYLIGHT, 1946: John Lehmann, editor and publisher; pp. 192; 8s. 6d.

POEMS FROM NEW WRITING: 1936-46.

This anthology of stories, poems, criticism and sketches has been appearing in bound volumes about twice a year since 1942. It is edited and published by John Lehmann, and has contained much of the best writing produced in English during that time. It has always taken particular pains to include work, in translation or otherwise, by Continental writers, many of whom were with the British Army during the war. The latest issue seems to feature Greek and Czech names especially. This issue also contains a symposium on the future of fiction to which Rose Macaulay, V. S. Pritchett, Arthur Koestler and Osbert Sitwell contribute, poems by Louis MacNeice and George Barker, and critical essays on Valery, Picasso and Klee, the Picasso article being a well-written and well-informed hostile criticism, which is probably pretty rare.

The selection of poetry contributed to this periodical of course does not pretend to be an adequate anthology of contemporary British poetry, but it provides a fair proportion of it. The better known contributors are Auden, MacNeice, Spender, Edith Sitwell, Day Lewis, Gascoyne, Lorca, Pierre Jean Jouve, William Plomer and one Canadian, Earle Birney. One gets the impression that Britain has gone through a profound spiritual experience like that of France after 1870, and that such collections as this are the foothills of an approaching British Renaissance. In contemporary British poetry there is passion, sincerity, sanity, high technical competence, infinite variety of style and mood, and a highly educated public to be addressed—in short, there is everything, but the total effect is one of promise rather than achievement, as though Britain's Rimbauds and Verlaines were coming with a new generation.

N. F.

BALLADS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST: Robert Allison Hood; Ryerson; pp. 169; \$2.50.

In time for Vancouver's jubilee celebrations this year the author of the novel, *The Case of Kinnear*, has produced this series of poems dealing with incidents of early Canadian history relative to the West Coast. Mr. Hood is a graduate of the University of California, and his research and interest lies in the field of the ballad. Obviously a good deal of exacting study of source material lies behind this publication, which deals with a variety of individuals from Captain George Vancouver to Cariboo Cameron, each of whom is representative of some class of man whose calling led him to endure the hardships of pioneering or exploration.

The Poems are chiefly narrative, after the manner of Pratt's "Brebeuf and his Brethren." In the pseudo-autobiographical pieces there appears a definite trend towards the Edgar Lee Masters "Spoon River" technique. But in neither case does Hood emulate his predecessors. There is none of Pratt's strong, self-assured verse, which carries in its very form the indomitable spirit it would portray, nor of Masters' characterization, which creates at once an individual and an American type.

The characters are individuals only because their exploits differ, or their stations in life. They are but half-creations, puppets for the poet's voice. All speak like witnesses at a court trial, with obvious precision, and prosaic attention to detail which in their own homes they would

never think of relating in a like manner. Even in the prologue, après Drummond, to the section, "The Voyageur", there is a disconcerting mixture of "de" and "dat", and "then" and "that" from the same tongue.

It is time, moreover, that the mention of Canadian poetry should evoke images other than those of explorers and settlers wandering, highly impressed, through maple forests, past beaver dams. Surely there is, at last, more to the Canadian character than can be found in the history lesson or the nature-study group. Surely there is more to be said than that even as our forefathers had a hard row to hoe, even so should we hoe hard, and in lines as straight. I do not wish to infer that there is no other poetry in Canada than that of which I speak, but I do feel that among those poets who wish to represent us as a people, among those poets who would make their themes characteristic of us, there must be a revaluation of our tradition. Otherwise our poetry will suffer from neglect even more than it has in the past, and will join Mr. Hood's Cariboo camels in the complaint which he allows them as they languish in Canada, far from their native habitat:

"What a country! what a people!
and what a road to travel on!
How we longed for the hot suns
and the soft sands of the desert!
How we hated our drivers,
speaking strange oaths,
wearing odd garments,
with no knowledge or skill
of how to load us or ride us!"

Gordon J. Wood.

A FRIENDLY HEARTH: Norah Baring; pp. 128; Clarke, Irwin & Co.; \$1.75.

Proponents of laissez-faire may idly wonder to just what depth underprivileged young of the human species can sink practically ignored. The author of this book discovered for herself, and she learned the hard way. In 1940, when the blitzing of English cities started the evacuation of the children, she was living idly in a luxury hotel in Wales. Feeling particularly useless, this clever young woman, with a warm affection for any sort of child, undertook to run a home for some of the waifs, all on her own. It took daring and courage, of which she had plenty; much of her own money, of which she had not a great deal, and experience, of which she had none.

Outside a small, prejudiced northern town in Wales, she rented a large old house, and worked with mad enthusiasm to prepare for her load of trouble. When it came, late in the evening, in the form of children such as a Hogarth might have drawn, her dainty preparations and kindly plans were muddled and scattered in the space of minutes. But for all the four following years her courage never wavered. She struggled with children who were less clean than animals (who at least respect their own lairs), with tiny thieves, half-wits, the greed and ingratitude of belligerent parents, and the suspicions and spites of the local villagers who resented her efforts. Through the discouragements it is evident that her kindness in the end had kindled in some of the children at least, a spark of returning affection and ambition.

The value of the book, apart from its human interest, is emphasized in the foreword by J. A. F. Watson of the London Juvenile Court. "As a commentary upon English parenthood and the upbringing of children in a civilized country, this book is profoundly disturbing. . . . The behavior of some of these children, their habits and their language, will leave the average reader aghast. And the cause is manifest in every sordid glimpse we gain of their parents and their

homes." If a sufficient number of these children grow up, we might some day be treated to a Walpurgis orgy when all that we consider culture and beauty would be blown sky-high to the accompaniment of idiot laughter.

Eleanor McNaught.

TEACHING OR LIVING

WIND WITHOUT RAIN: Selwyn Dewdney; Copp, Clark, 1946; pp. 506; \$3.00.

Wind Without Rain is a novel about school teachers; it is sufficiently provocative to cause teachers to examine their relations to each other and to the community. It will interest the ordinary reader also by giving him a picture of what goes on behind the four walls of our schools. The verbal photography of the book is so accurate that many readers ask, "What school is he describing?" and "Who is the principal?"

Mr. Dewdney's thesis is that love rather than fear should be the motive force in education. Young John Westley comes to his job as a teacher in West Kirby High School. His immediate superior, J. C. Bilbeau, rules by fear; his friend, Angus Macdonald, believes in tolerance and love. The story of how young Westley, impressed with Bilbeau's success, makes one compromise after another until he finds that he has compromised himself away and betrayed his friend is a good story, a story for a great novelist. A great novelist would have brought to the task a mastery of language, of sentence structure and of colloquial idiom, which would have given depth to the rather thin material.

Numerous incidents of school routine are over-developed, and two of the main emotional situations, namely, the affection of Angus Macdonald for John Westley and the bondage of Angus's marriage are inadequately developed. For this reason the final tragic action does not seem inevitable. The exponent of love is not loving enough.

Mr. Dewdney's characters are the kind of people who subscribe to *The Canadian Forum*. This is one reason why Forum readers will enjoy the book. It is not every day that a novelist writes critically and authentically about Canadian life.

Isabel Thomas

MAURIZIUS FOREVER: Henry Miller; Motive Book Shop; pp. 62; 85c.

When he wrote *The Cosmological Eye* Henry Miller was a great and welcome Voice, talking in large terms about Life and Art; but even then reading him was like walking in a high wind over quicksand—exhilarating, but no firm footing. After *Tropic of Capricorn*, a sharp and hopeless picture of human misery, we began to think that Philip Toynbee (writing in a recent issue of *Horizon*) was fundamentally sound when he said: "The novelist has a twofold duty: to perceive, and to perceive order. It is not enough to perceive, if the perception be only of further confusion, of Time triumphing . . . this leads to the empurpled riot of that great anti-artist, Henry Miller . . ."

In *The Air-Conditioned Nightmare*, and his present pamphlet, a review of the Jacob Wasserman novel, *The Maurizius Case*, Miller is trumpeting like a wounded elephant about the decay of civilization, and as nearly as I can make out, advocating that we scrap all of society as it now is and start over again, although he is naturally not very clear about what we are to start over again with, or even who "we" are. He summarizes Wasserman's plot, but because of his own sense of discontinuity, fails to assess it as a work of art or to place it in any kind of relation to other novels or to literature in general. He has on the whole performed two distinct disservices: to Wasserman as a novelist, and to himself as a critic.

D. Mosdell.

THE RED MOUNTAIN; Laura Nelson Baker; Oxford; pp. 121; \$2.00

The Red Mountain is a very sensitively written piece of fiction—it is neither short stories nor novel—that tells some events in one year of the life of a seven-year-old boy. It is written as nearly from the inner vantage point of a child's experiences as an adult writer can achieve. Myles is not a common type of child, neither is he too rare, but the author who produced this piece of work may be a very rare type of mother. She has a nine-year-old son. It is as interesting to speculate about her life thoughts as a mother, as it is to speculate on the future of young Myles. This little book should impress adults with the variety and intensity of experiences that crowd the life of a child and remind them that the protection of that native awareness and sensitivity should be regarded as much a responsibility as keeping the child clean and nourished.

Blodwen Davies

THE KAFKA PROBLEM: Angel Flores, editor: Jonathan David (New Directions); pp. 468; \$6.25.

A symposium of essays and critical studies on the great German writer, now one of the major influences on modern literature. How deeply he has penetrated into our culture is indicated by the names of the contributors, which include W. H. Auden, Albert Camus, Max Lerner, Franz Werfel and Denis Saurat, to mention only the best known ones, and who appear to represent at least a dozen literatures. The book is an essential supplement to the translations of Kafka's works which are now appearing, many of them also published by New Directions. The designer of the book thinks it's cute to list an essay on "Kafka's Quest" by W. H. Auden as k's quest—w. h. auden, but don't let that put you off. N. F.

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